1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

But the relation between the environment, the animals, and their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[1] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

[1] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

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supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations.

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

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811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

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805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[179] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadiá) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghálata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arádhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

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805 821 (233) the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 825 787 In second place come the meteorological forecasts. What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

751 752 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned. There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones 757 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,